

MONDAY 21 AUGUST 1978

Approved For Release 2004/07/08 : CIA-RDP81B00401R002100070018-6

## Liberation Groups' Strategies

by [redacted] CIA

25X1A The leadership of the African National Congress, the larger of South Africa's two exiled liberation organizations, is convinced that the kind of externally based rural guerrilla warfare being waged in Rhodesia will not work against South Africa. The ANC is, therefore, now planning to concentrate on fomenting labor unrest and conducting urban guerrilla warfare inside South Africa to force the government to change its policy toward blacks. It claims that it has stored large caches of arms inside the country for this purpose. Although the majority of South African blacks are opposed to violence and realize that they will be hurt most by urban terrorism, an increasing number see violence as their only recourse. [redacted]

25X1A The ANC, the oldest South African political organization, was founded in 1912. It functioned inside South Africa until 1960, when the government banned it and the rival Pan Africanist Congress following political protests over a massacre of blacks by police at Sharpeville. During the 1950s members of the small, previously banned South African Communist Party infiltrated the ANC. White, Asian, and Colored—mixed blood—Communists are still an important minority in the organization's leadership.

The Pan Africanist Congress, the smaller and less effective of the two exile groups, was formed in 1959 by members of the ANC who rejected both the ANC's multiracial approach and its Communist influence. The PAC agrees in principle with ANC's strategy of concentrating on internal disruption rather than cross-border raids. There is, however, little if any coordination between the two groups. The role of whites in a majority-ruled South Africa is still a main area of disagreement between the two groups. Despite renewed attempts by the Organization of African Unity to arrange a reconciliation, both continue to rule out the possibility of merger.

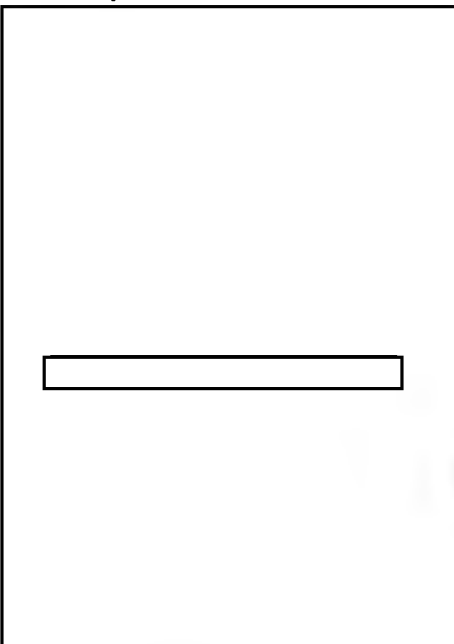
25X1A The ANC receives modest support from the USSR, while the PAC gets some financial and military assistance from China. The OAU provides funds for both organizations, and both are seeking expanded support from African countries. The UN has recognized the ANC as the "true representative" of the South African people.

After languishing for more than a

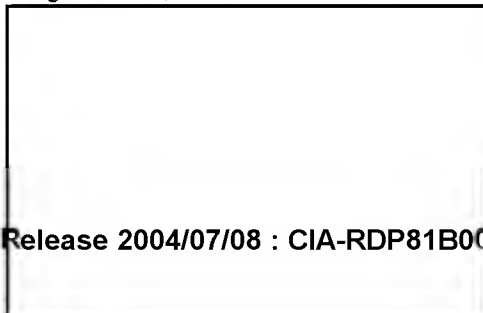
decade, both groups were revitalized in 1976 by a large infusion of students who fled South Africa after the riots in Soweto. [redacted]

[redacted] the ANC has about 3,000 members and the PAC about 1,000. These estimates, however, probably include many of the students now in refugee camps.

There may be about 800 trained cadre in military camps located primarily in Tanzania, Zambia, and Angola and about 100 to 200 members with military training inside South Africa. The number of PAC members undergoing training or operating inside South Africa is considerably smaller.



The ANC needs much more internal support before it can set up the urban guerrilla bases it envisages. Even with a sympathetic populace, such bases would be difficult to hide from South Africa's pervasive security forces. The ANC is aware that the black community, which is for the most part moderate and opposed to violence, would be damaged most by urban terrorism and unrest and that blacks are not currently satisfied with the limited accomplishments of the liberation organizations.



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